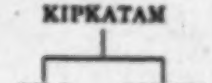
4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.



. . . . . 1st descending generation

. . . . . 2nd descending generation

[587] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [589] even if the disparity in age is but small.

606 Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkamuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

● 607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *mwiat*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no lewd talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 195 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other hand, there should be no *wuriá*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Ceuikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Ceuuguny who was married to a *Nyangi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Ceuuguny would bring her children to see Ceuikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Ceuikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikiriotet* with Arap Ratos. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Iere ɨpako lakwa ee mooɨpua emɨmakɨ* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapɨnko amut, ko-ceuket, ame mamɨpeta emɨmakɨk aweenk ee ame, kwanɨpɨk, kɨnɨ,* "Iere, ɨpɨkwa lakwa".	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and he cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Wei, eweenɨ ame, aiyo! Ko-kwanɨpɨ kɨnɨ, kɨnɨ,* "Iere, ɨpɨkwa".	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Mɨmmum, lakwa, mamɨ-cɨ kɨnɨ, kwanɨk, a mɨ-ta kɨpɨnɨ ɨlimɨpɨn ɨl kɨ-ɨpɨn makɨlɨn.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but tomorrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Wɨrɨn, mɨjo natɨ, ɨl ko-ceuu kɨnɨ.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Wɨrɨn, kɨjo kwan, . . . Kɨɨpɨn ee, ɨl kwan?*	Yes, let's go tomorrow, . . . What shall we take her, what she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kɨjwanɨ kwan, ɨl kɨɨpɨn eyenyɨt ɨl kɨlɨmɨnɨk.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her [illegible] some honey and water.